



The Project for American Renewal

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Dan Coats".

U.S. Senator Dan Coats

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "John R. Kasich".

U.S. Congressman John Kasich

Introduction by
Dr. William J. Bennett
Co-Director, Empower America

"The Project for American Renewal"

Introduction by William J. Bennett

Last September, Senator Coats and I introduced "The Project for American Renewal" with the aim of sharpening and refining conservative thought on government's role in reviving civil society and America's character-forming institutions. Our hope was that it would become a focal point of discussion. That it surely has. In fact, the reaction to "The Project for American Renewal" exceeded our expectations. In less than a year, we have seen an important shift in the national political debate; the Project's conceptual frame work is now driving much of the discussion about social policy and legislation. Indeed, both Senator Dole and President Clinton have endorsed The Project for American Renewal's essentially conservative concept -- as well as some of the particulars. Congressman Kasich's participation is a symbol of the legislative seriousness these ideas have gained. The replacement of the welfare state -- a proposition once considered politically unthinkable and practically impossible -- is now accepted not only as intellectually sound and desirable, but as an urgent matter for legislation.

The Project challenges some basic assumptions about government. And it offers an alternative to the view of government which has dominated public discourse for the last three decades. The Project returns our focus to what Burke called "the first principle ... of public affection" -- civil society. It reminds us that it is in the "little platoon" of civil society where the real work of molding responsible, law-abiding citizens takes place.

"The Project for American Renewal" is an attempt to guide and facilitate the process of devolution. It even offers ways in which the federal government can ultimately become an agent in its own devolution by returning power back to the most crucial institutions -- families, churches, private and civic associations -- of civil society. However, recognizing that after decades of inertia, our civic institutions will not spring back to life on their own accord, the Project offers well-considered measures to nurse civil society back to health. It does so by putting government on the side of individuals and civic institutions seeking to rebuild and re-civilize local communities. It not only returns political power from the federal government to state and local governments; it seeks, finally, to return power beyond government, to individuals and social institutions (school choice is a prime example).

I want to be clear and unequivocal in my belief that we need to reduce government's overall size and reach. As government has gotten bigger, it has taken over the work of, and has had an enervating effect on, the character-forming institutions of families, school, churches, and voluntary associations. And that, in turn, has (a) hurt the cause of self-government and (b) turned many citizens into part-time, de facto wards of a "nanny state." That includes, by the way, the middle and upper-middle class and not simply the underclass.

That said, I am under no illusion that relimiting government alone is sufficient to the task of American renewal. Most of what has to happen needs to take place in America's homes, classrooms, churches, civic halls, and television and movie screens.

The Coats/Kasich package is based on a recognition that there are real limits to what legislation - even very good legislation -- can do to solve our most pressing social and moral issues. If the liberal fallacy is an abiding faith in the all-sufficiency of government, then the conservative fallacy could easily become an abiding faith in the all-sufficiency of non-government. Even if the size of government were reduced by, say, a quarter, the public -- parents, husbands, wives and friends -- would still need to meet their responsibilities. Senator Coats and Congressman Kasich understand this and have designed their package in a manner which is consistent with that fact.

One conviction which has grown stronger over time is that if government must do one thing above all other to help restore civil society, it must restore order to crime-ridden neighborhoods and provide security and protection to its citizens. This is government's most important responsibility, the key provision in the social contract. There is simply no way that civil society can flourish if there is lawlessness in the streets.

The task we now face, during the last decade of this "American Century," is to move forward; to meet our responsibilities as parents, spouses and citizens; and to advance responsible, compassionate and morally serious legislation in order to reclaim the noble ideals upon which this nation was founded.

Over the last year, "The Project for American Renewal" has sparked much rigorous debate about America's most complex and important social questions. Now, it is time to get this legislation passed so that we can put these ideas to work and get to the business of rebuilding civil society. We all have a part to play. Senator Coats and Congressman Kasich have done their part -- at least, they have done part of their part -- with "The Project for American Renewal." They should be congratulated for their contribution; the time is now to pass their legislation.

Dr. William J. Bennett
Co-Director, Empower America

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"The Project for American Renewal"

an overview . . .



What does it mean for a nation to be compassionate? It is a serious question, not given much serious attention.

Liberals seem content to ignore that our current welfare state has a terrible human cost. None of its architects in the 1960s would have predicted or accepted a 30 year rise in illegitimacy of 500 percent, or an increase in violent crime of 600 percent. Yet the congress has continued to reauthorize welfare programs, based on the momentum of good intentions and the absence of alternatives.

Two years ago, Republicans were elected, in part, as a rejection of this definition of compassion. We made clear the War on Poverty has been a failure, with hard statistics and with great effect. It is an argument we won, but the victory feels empty.

In the back of our minds we know that when failed federal programs are cut-- as they must be-- our nation will still be left with unacceptable suffering. Too many children will still enter schools through metal detectors. Too many will still grow up without a family's stability and a father's love. Too many communities will still be imprisoned by violence and fear. The fact that government programs have not worked is no excuse for those in government not to act.

This is perhaps the most visible challenge facing Republicans in next legislative year: can we match our skepticism about government with a bold, new definition of public compassion? Can we dismantle a destructive welfare culture, and still fulfill our responsibilities to the disadvantaged?

Both these things are possible. It is our hope to demonstrate a way for Republicans, consistent with conservative principle, to talk and act on matters of compassion. To this end, we propose four principles of a new approach to social policy:

1) Many of our worst social problems (crime, illegitimacy, despair, anger) will never be solved until the hearts of parents are turned toward their children; until respect is restored for human life and property; until a commitment is renewed to care about our neighbor. Government cannot reach this deep into human character.

2) But there are people and institutions-- families, churches and synagogues, private charities, grassroots community organizations-- able to communicate these ideals and restore individual hope. Armed with tough love, individual responsibility and spiritual values, they often perform miracles of renewal.

3) This reduces (though it does not eliminate) the direct role of government programs, but it also points to an active public mission: to transfer government roles and resources to the value-building institutions of our society, without burdening them with intrusive regulations.

4) Such a transfer demands a radically revised definition of compassion. It is not the florescent lights, plastic chairs and "take-a-number-and-wait" of a welfare office. It is the warm hand of someone who actually cares. The measure of our compassion as a nation is the extent to which we promote this transforming human contact.

"Can we match our skepticism about government with a bold, new definition of public compassion? Can we dismantle a destructive welfare culture, and still fulfill our responsibilities to the disadvantaged?"

What does this contribute to the social policy debate? It allows us to promote moral and religious answers to human problems, without favoring any one moral or religious vision. The institutions we seek to empower are Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and of no particular faith-- a riot of pluralism. This approach permits us to abandon our illusions about bureaucratic compassion, and still keep an active commitment to the disadvantaged, especially to children. It also allows us to talk about hope once again in a welfare debate that is starved for it.

Our specific goal is to provide a new focus for legislative action next year. In every social debate-- on housing, family policy, drug treatment, education, welfare-- we intend to draw attention to local, private and religious efforts that are dramatically successful in solving social problems. More than that, we are committed to making creative proposals that defer to them and strengthen them. The conservative rallying cry we are proposing for the next session of congress is "Power to the People."

We have introduced 16 proposals in the House and Senate, in legislation called "The Project For American Renewal," to jump-start this discussion. Each measure transfers authority and resources, through tax credits, vouchers and grants, to charities, community organizations, character education efforts, maternity homes and community development corporations, to encourage their work among the disadvantaged.

The centerpiece of the plan is a charity tax credit, allowing every taxpaying family to give \$1,000 of what they owe the government each year to private, anti-poverty charities in their own community. It is paid for by diverting a small portion of federal welfare spending (gradually substituting for about five percent over five years) and by cutting corporate welfare (accounting for about a third of a cost). The credit would both reduce government and increase the resources getting directly to the disadvantaged, because those funds would not be filtered through a government bureaucracy that takes a cut of its own. Right now, by one estimate, some 67 percent of all federal welfare spending ends up in the pockets of the nonpoor.

We have tried an experiment. In a variety of groups we have asked the following question: If you wanted to give some of your income toward helping the poor, would you do it by contributing to local, privately run charitable organizations, or would you give your money to the local welfare department? The answer is always the same. Americans trust people who actually care, not bureaucrats who are paid to care.

As a matter of policy, this direction of reform is promising. It is an alternative, at least, to going through the empty motions of bureaucratic compassion, reauthoriz-

continued . . .

ing programs year after year that don't even bother to keep track of their dismal results.

If that is not enough, it is also a political opportunity for both parties. For Democrats, it is a chance to move beyond a stale defense of the status quo. For Republicans, it is an opportunity to overcome their compassion gap, articulating a hopeful response to social problems. "The political party," comments Michael Novak, "that best makes mediating structures the North Star of a new bipartisan agenda will dominate practical politics for the next fifty years."

We, as conservative Republicans, intend to test that theory.

"The Project for American Renewal" is focused on shifting authority and resources to three levels of civil society:

- **Effective Compassion:**

Encouraging private and religious charities and individual acts of giving and caring as a partial alternative to bureaucratic approaches. This section includes a charity tax credit, the legislative centerpiece of the Project for American Renewal.

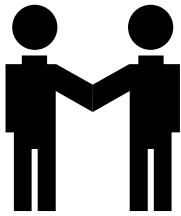
- **Community Empowerment:**

Giving neighborhoods and grassroots organizations (such as neighborhood watches and community development corporations) the economic and social tools to renew a sense of community.

- **Fathering, Mentoring and Family:**

Supporting fathers and mentors in their essential task of instilling character in children.

Community activist Robert Woodson makes the point that every social problem, no matter how severe, is currently being defeated somewhere, by some religious or community group. This is one of America's great, untold stories. No alternative approach to our cultural crisis holds such promise, because these institutions have resources denied to government at every level-- love, spiritual vitality and true compassion. It is time to publicly, creatively, and actively take their side in the struggle to recivilize American society.



Effective Compassion

America's most aggressive cultural diseases-- family breakdown, decaying civic institutions, rising crime, addiction and illegitimacy-- seem virtually immune to politics. They have resisted \$5.4 trillion in government spending, and have turned generations of public policy reformers into cynics and pessimists.

On the left, the traditional response has been cash transfers, now discredited by a culture of dependence. On the right, the hope has been for a rising economy to lift all boats. But Reagan-era prosperity produced 18.4 million new jobs without making a significant dent in the underclass. Economic opportunity, we have found, is an empty concept in neighborhoods where 90 percent of children lack a father; pay at entry level jobs is dismissed as "chump change;" and young men (on good evidence) don't expect to live past their twentieth birthday .

Economic redistribution and economic growth have both shown their limits. "What is wanted," argues Irving Kristol, "is a black John Wesley to do for the 'underclass' what Wesley did for the gin-ridden working class in 18th century Britain. Reformation has to be on the agenda, not just relief." It should be added that Wesleys are needed for every race, because the underclass problem does not discriminate.

This theme was taken up by President Clinton in a speech to high school students in suburban Virginia. "Don't you believe," he asked, "that if every kid in every difficult neighborhood in America were in a religious institution on weekends--a synagogue on Saturday, a church on Sunday, a mosque on Friday--don't you really believe that the drug rate, the crime rate, the violence rate, the sense of self-destruction would go way down and the quality and character of this country would go way up?"

It was a founding principle of the modern, liberal state that society must change if we ever hope to change individuals. It is the dawning truth of our time that this principle is precisely backwards. Individuals must change if we ever hope to change our society. Matters of behavior and character have assumed a central place in America's debate on social policy-- the value men and women place on life and property, the commitment they show to marriage, the sacrifices they make for their children.

If, to confront urgent social problems, reformation must be on the agenda, the direct role of government is nonexistent. It can feed the body but it cannot touch the soul. That delicate work is performed by a certain kind of intermediary institution: a private and religious charity.

This outlook violates the credentialism of public service bureaucracies, which often dismiss these private and charitable efforts as unprofessional and unsystematic. By any objective measure, however, most private and religious organizations are more effective, efficient and compassionate than government programs, for at least three reasons.

First, religious organizations have the freedom to require changed behavior in return for help. Once criticized as paternalistic, these groups assert the essential connection between responsibility and human dignity.

Second, their approach is personal rather than bureaucratic. The literal meaning of "compassion," as historian Marvin Olasky points out, is "suffering with." These groups understand that serving those in need is not primarily a function of professional background but of individual commitment.

Third, religious organizations often provide an element of moral challenge and spiritual renewal that government programs cannot duplicate. Robert Woodson, Sr. observes, "People, including me, would check out the successful social programs-- I'm talking about the neighborhood-based healers who manage to turn people around-- and we would report on such things as

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size, funding, leadership, technique. Only recently has it crystallized for me that the one thing virtually all these programs had in common was a leader with a strong element of spirituality... We don't yet have the scales to weigh the ability some people have to supply meaning-- to provide the spiritual element I'm talking about. I don't know how the details might work themselves out, but I know it makes as much sense to empower those who have the spiritual wherewithal to turn lives around as to empower those whose only qualification is credentials."

A vivid contrast between government and private approaches is found in Washington, D.C., just blocks from the Capitol. The Gospel Mission, run by the Reverend John Woods, is a homeless shelter that offers unconditional love but accepts no excuses. Residents are required to take random drug tests. If they violate the rules, they are told to leave the program.

The success of the mission, however, comes down to something simple: It does more than provide a meal and treat an addiction, it offers spiritual renewal. One addict who came to Reverend Woods after failing in several government programs observed, "Those programs generally take addictions from you, but don't place anything within you. I needed a spiritual lifting. People like Reverend Woods are like God walking into your life. Not only am I drug-free, but more than that, I can be a person again."

The Gospel Mission has a 12-month rehabilitation rate of 66 percent, while government programs often count a 10 percent rate as successful -- and government programs manage to spend many times more money per person.

In a period of "compassion fatigue" and frustration over counterproductive social spending, institutions like the Gospel Mission, multiplied around the country, are a source of hope beyond anything the government can offer. The measure of our compassion as a nation is the manner in which we celebrate, accommodate and promote their work.

Nathan Glazer, who helped construct the Great Society, argues in The Limits of Social Policy, "The breakdown of traditional modes of behavior is the chief cause of our social problems. I am increasingly convinced that some important part of the solution to our social problems lies in traditional practices and traditional restraints. Since the past is not recoverable, what guidance can this possibly give? It gives two forms of guidance: first, it counsels hesitation in the development of social policies that sanction the abandonment of traditional practices, and second, and perhaps more helpful, it suggests that the creation and building of new traditions, or new versions of old traditions, must be taken more seriously as a requirement of social policy itself."

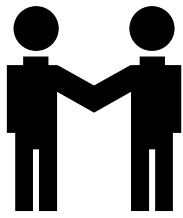
Those traditions are generally carried by private and religious institutions and caring individuals. They should be invited to participate in the renewal of our society. "The Project for American Renewal" includes legislative measures to encourage these institutions, without undermining them with government control:

THE CHARITY TAX CREDIT ACT -- This bill, the centerpiece of the Project for American Renewal, would give approximately 5 percent of federal spending on welfare to private anti-poverty charities through a tax credit. Private and religious organizations are uniquely capable of instilling morality and responsibility along with material relief.

THE COMPASSION CREDIT -- There is more to compassion than writing a check to either the federal government or a private institution. This measure provides a \$500 tax credit to people who open their homes to care for some of the most needy members of our society including battered women, women in crisis pregnancies, the homeless, and the dying--including AIDS and cancer patients.

THE MEDICAL VOLUNTEER ACT -- One of the obstacles that discourages health care providers from volunteering their services to the poor is the prohibitive cost of liability insurance. This proposal would extend federal liability coverage to medical volunteers providing free help to the poor. Doctors who volunteer their expertise should be commended, not threatened with unreasonable lawsuits.

THE COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP ACT -- As the federal government confronts its limits in fighting poverty and restoring hope, it is increasingly necessary for people of faith to help in relief and rescue. This proposal encourages states and communities to match welfare families and nonviolent offenders with churches, synagogues and mosques committed to helping them achieve independence. A caring community, with the resource of spiritual renewal, is more effective than a distant bureaucracy.



The Charity Tax Credit Act

The Congress is currently focused on the essential task of clearing away the ruins of the Great Society. Centralized, bureaucratic anti-poverty programs have failed, and that failure has had a human cost. It is measured in broken homes and violent streets.

Yet, while our Great Society illusions have ended, the suffering of many Americans has not. Indifference to that fact is not an option.

Real hope in defeating poverty is found among those people and institutions that not only feed the body but touch the soul. It is important for us not only to spread authority and resources within the levels of government, but to spread them beyond government-- to private and religious institutions that have spiritual and moral resources denied to welfare bureaucracies.

The "Charity Tax Credit Act" will take a small portion of welfare spending in America and give it through the tax code to private and religious institutions that effectively provide individuals with hope, dignity and help. Without eliminating a public safety net, we want to focus attention and resources where they can make all the difference. This measure is the legislative focus of the Project for American Renewal.

This legislation would:

- Provide a \$500 poverty tax credit (\$1000 for married couples) for contributions to charitable organizations. These organizations must have as their primary purpose the prevention or alleviation of poverty and ensure that 75% of their expenses are devoted to poverty programs.
- Allow a 100% credit on the first \$100 of qualified contribution and a 90% credit for the next \$400. Thus, for a \$500 contribution a taxpayer will be allowed to reduce their taxes by \$460 (\$920 for married couples). This credit would be phased in over five years.
- Permit a multifaceted organization or church to treat its poverty program like a separate entity. In addition, solicitation organizations like United Way can collect contributions provided that at least 90% of the collected funds are sent to qualified poverty fighting groups.

- History shows that the shape of the tax code influences the level of charitable giving. In 1985, non-itemizers could deduct 50 percent of their contributions and gave to charity a total of \$9.4 billion. In 1986, with a 100 percent deduction, contributions rose to \$13.2 billion, a 40 percent increase. (IRS)

- Eighty-one million taxpayers, 71 percent of all taxpayers, currently have no tax incentive for charitable giving because they do not itemize. Of this group, over 95 percent have incomes lower than \$50,000. (IRS, Statistics of Income Bulletin, Spring 1995 Washington, D.C., 1995)

- The Professional Receptionist Institute, a small privately funded job training center run by Lessie Handy, a black woman and former receptionist, has a 92% success rate of job placement. Ms. Handy says, "People are still crawling when they leave here. They need someone who understands where they're coming from and will hold their hand as long as it takes; most government people can't or won't do that..." (Marvin Olasky, Renewing American Compassion pg.21)

- Require organizations or their poverty sub-programs to file IRS Form 990; make their returns available to the public and account for their expenses on a percentage basis.

- Extend the deadline for charity tax credit contributions until April 15th. This would increase the incentive and opportunity to reduce tax liability by giving to charity.

- Require a GAO study on the type of charities which receive the charity tax credit funds and the kind of service provided to the poor with these funds.

"The Credit would provide an incentive for Americans of modest incomes to seek out and support the successful programs that serve low-income individuals in their own communities, making social welfare programs accountable for their outcomes and creating competition for funds based on success rates."

Robert L. Woodson,
President, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise

"The charity tax credit proposed by Senator Coats and Congressman Kasich is the best possible solution to our welfare mess. It gives the power to taxpayers to decide directly how the poor can best be helped, and opens the system to allow such assistance to be provided directly by the more effective and efficient private sector."

Peter Ferrara
General Counsel and Chief Economist
Americans for Tax Reform

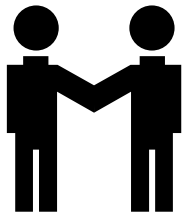
"For thirty years, Americans have taken it for granted that it is government that must provide welfare. The charity tax credit is a bold and promising alternative. By letting private charities provide benefits in place of government, the tax credit will stimulate new giving, encourage voluntarism, and increase the efficiency with which welfare benefits are delivered. The only losers will be those who have a vested interest in the preservation of the status quo."

David G. Tuerck, PhD
Executive Director
Beacon Hill Institute at Suffolk University

The difference in results between faith-based approaches and government programs can be dramatic. Teen Challenge, with 130 chapters around the country, has a drug and alcohol rehabilitation rate of between 70 and 86 percent, while government efforts often have success rates in the single digits. And Teen Challenge treats clients for a fraction of the cost of other treatment (sometimes only 4 percent of other local programs).

One recovered drug addict, Dyrickey Johnson, comments of a state-approved center where he was a patient, "Oh, it was a nice place. You had your own room, you had a schedule you'd go by. You didn't have to do any work . . . You were told to focus your mind and your willpower. The only problem is that a drug addict doesn't have any willpower." He was back on crack within three months.

Eventually, he ended up at a Teen Challenge chapter. Now he has been clean for three years, is married with two small children, and has become a counselor at a local housing project. The head of that program argues, "We use a Christ-based approach here and it works. Why don't they look at our success rate?"



The Compassion Credit Act

Individual acts of compassion often transform lives and provide personal care far more effectively than faceless bureaucracies. A teen girl facing a crisis pregnancy or an AIDS patient requiring care can often be helped by families willing to open hearts and homes. A strong ethic of neighbor helping neighbor in times of crisis not only offers help and hope, but revitalizes the spirit of community.

"The Compassion Credit" provides a small incentive to people who open their homes to some of the neediest members of our society. It offsets part of the cost of caring for the most vulnerable, including the homeless, those requiring hospice care, women in crisis pregnancies, and battered women and children. In each case, the referral must be made through a shelter, hospice care or crisis pregnancy center.

While the \$500 credit would not fully cover the costs of care, it would provide an incentive for individuals to reach out to those in need. Government, through the tax code, should affirmatively take the side of those committed to care.

This legislation would:

- Create a \$500 credit to taxpayers who provide home care for individuals in need, including the homeless, battered women, abused women with children, hospice care patients including AIDS and cancer patients, and unmarried pregnant women.
- Provide that all referrals be made and certified through a qualified 501(c)(3) whose primary activity is to provide care to that particular class of the needy.

• Approximately 7 million Americans experienced homelessness at least once in the latter half of the 1980s and as many as 600,000 are homeless on any given night. (Interagency Council on the Homeless, March 1994 Report).

• 3.9 million American women were physically abused by their spouses or live-in boyfriends in 1993.

"People who are willing to open their homes to needy individuals don't do it for the money, but they do save taxpayers tens of millions of dollars. A tax credit will encourage a greater opening of homes and hearts and make the option available to more than just the affluent."

-- Marvin Olasky, The Progress and Freedom Foundation

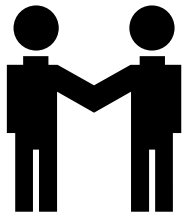
"When April told her boyfriend she was pregnant, he was angry: he threw her against the wall outside the mall and shouted at her. April, who'd earned plenty of previous scoldings at home, didn't tell her dad and stepmom. Instead, she left home one night and hitchhiked 200 miles to her mom's apartment.

April's mom, who was always unstable and often malicious, refused to take her daughter for prenatal care. At first she said she was waiting until the girl turned 18 and would no longer be her financial burden. But on April's birthday her mother turned her out on the street, shoving all her belongings and stuffed animals into a plastic garbage bag. April spent two weeks at the county homeless shelter before they told her her time was up and she'd have to move on.

It's hard to imagine a story bleaker than this. But at this point April moved in with a Christian family who helped her gather her courage to call her dad and mend fences.

A year later April returned to visit the family that had given her shelter. Her daughter was bundled against the snow in extravagant layers of pink and lace, tiny socks and shiny hard shoes at one end, a strong-willed porcelain face under blond curls at the other. April's husband was lanky and awkward and proud. He was working full time to provide a home -- a small apartment -- and groceries for his family. April just beamed."

-- World November 26, 1994



The Medical Volunteer Act

Service is much more than simply writing a check. It often requires the sacrifice of time and talent. Yet in one area of pressing need, that of health care, those willing to volunteer their medical skills are often frustrated by enormous liability exposure.

Many rural and urban residents find it difficult or impossible to access medical care. Patients may simply be unable to afford the care of a doctor unless that physician volunteers medical services. Yet doctors who volunteer to serve the poor increase their exposure to malpractice claims, causing insurance premiums to increase dramatically. Often, doctors willing to help simply cannot afford to do so. Ironically, many American doctors find it easier to serve the poor abroad than they do in our own neighborhoods.

Proposed solutions abound, but are incomplete. The federal government, for example, directly funds training of health care professionals who agree to practice in medically underserved areas. But experience shows that these federally funded programs do not succeed in placing and keeping general practitioners in underserved areas. "The Medical Volunteer Act" encourages the noblest impulses of medicine by making it easier for doctors and nurses to provide charitable care.

This legislation would:

- Extend federal tort claim coverage to any health care professional who provides free medical services to a medically underserved person. Such coverage is already provided for medical services in Indian health facilities and in community, migrant, homeless, and public housing health centers.
- Require notice of the limited medical liability with respect to the service. The provider must be licensed in the state in which

the care is provided, and the service must be covered under Medicaid in that state.

- Require that patients reside in a medically underserved area, whether rural or urban, that lacks adequate access to health care. These areas are already designated by HHS. In addition, the patient must receive the care in a health care facility substantially comparable in nature to the migrant and community health centers.
- Preempt any State law that is less protective of medical volunteers in these circumstances.

- Liability premiums are a substantial factor in determining whether medical services are accessible. Fees are expensive (in Michigan, for example, annual fees range from \$65,900 - \$121,200; in Florida, from \$63,000 - \$130,600) and higher fees lead to higher health care costs. (ACOG: "Medical Liability -- Its Impact on Women's Health Care," August 1994)

- Obstetrical services are particularly hard-hit. By 1992, over 12 percent of obstetrician-gynecologists left the field, and over 22 percent decreased the level of high risk care they provided. In some rural states, less than half the counties have a practicing obstetrician. (ACOG, "Medical Liability -- Its Impact on Women's Health Care, August 1994)

- Many rural and urban residents find it difficult or impossible to access medical services. In Indiana, 57 of the 92 counties are designated as medically underserved as defined by the Federal Bureau for Primary Health Care. (Indiana State Department of Health, "State-Based Plan for Access to Primary Health Care for the Medically Underserved Population by County", January 1995)

"This is one of the most important bills that will be passed this year."

Free Clinic Foundation of America

"We strongly support the Senate provision to extend federal liability protection for medical volunteers who provide services in medically underserved areas."

American Medical Association

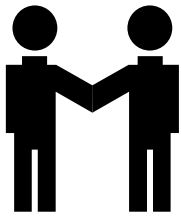
"We commend your initiative and applaud this effort to open the door to medical voluntarism, which holds the potential to profoundly impact the healthcare needs of the nation's genuinely needy citizens."

Christian Medical and Dental Society

In 1992, a group of Los Angeles medical professionals opened the Azuza Evening Clinic to provide medical care to the poor. Los Angeles County officials made their contribution by covering the volunteers with malpractice insurance. Now 200 area doctors and nurses staff the clinic.

These volunteers play an important role. "The doctors at county health facilities are often busy with inoculations and other preventive medicine," comments one local official. "By bringing low-cost primary care services to this area, the clinic has been a big help in filling the gaps in our coverage."

The founder of the Azuza Evening Clinic, Dr. George Ferenczi, recalls, "Initially, the county was shocked. They couldn't believe that doctors and nurses would want to work for free."



The Community Partnership Act

While government must fill certain roles in our society, it is clear that a distant federal bureaucracy is limited in its ability to offer personal attention and care. Those in our society who suffer through life crises often need more than a check in their mailbox. They need strong role models and the accountability of personal relationships. Many churches and community groups are offering just that by pairing with welfare families and nonviolent offenders to provide strong moral guidance and a community that cares.

"The Community Partnership Act" takes a simple, first step to lend a helping hand. It encourages churches and synagogues, on a voluntary basis, to provide mentoring and other assistance to welfare families and non-violent offenders. Communities of faith have both the spiritual and material resources not only to lend assistance, but to transform lives.

This legislation would:

- Institute demonstration grants for programs to match communities of faith with welfare recipients, and to match communities of faith with non-violent criminal offenders, as directed by the courts. The programs are completely voluntary.
- Provide grants to underwrite administrative functions, which may be performed by state or community-level agencies. The state serves as a facilitator and matches churches who volunteer to participate in the program with needy families, who also volunteer for the program.

• The escalating expense of welfare programs represents families in need. In fiscal year 1993, the government paid out monthly AFDC benefits to 14 million persons in 5 million families. (CRS Report for Congress, Feb. 17, 1994)

• Members of churches, synagogues and communities of faith are more likely to contribute free time to help needy people. Among those who regularly attend church, 63% volunteered; among those not attending church, 44% volunteered; among the general population, 58% volunteered. (Barna Research Group, 1991)

• Members of churches, synagogues and communities of faith are more likely to contribute money to charitable organizations, including churches and synagogues. (Barna Research Group, 1993)

"Frances White said she was about to trade her dream of becoming an operating room nurse for a life on welfare when the church folks with Faith and Families discovered her. "I'd be homeless," the 39-year-old single mother of three said. "It had got to where I didn't know which way to go. I didn't have money for anything."

Then Crossgates Baptist Church of Brandon, Mississippi, a participant in the state-administered Faith and Families program, stepped in with a life-preserver. The congregation paid her telephone bill so they could stay in touch, paid two months back rent, repaired her car and provided food.

Today she is back in nursing school at Mississippi College in nearby Clinton, and back on track to earn a nursing degree in two years. After that, White said, she wants to get a master's degree so she can teach nursing. Meanwhile, Crossgates has adopted two more welfare families and hopes to get them permanently off the welfare rolls." (Times-Picayune, April 3, 1995)

- Require the involvement of the judicial process for non-violent offender program. Like the welfare portion of the bill, all participants volunteer for the program. An offender applies for the program, and if accepted, his attorney may present that information to the court. The court then has the option to include the church mentoring program as a part of the offender's sentence.

- Limit grants to a maximum of \$1 million in any fiscal year. An additional amount of up to \$1 million is also set aside for national information clearinghouses at the Department of Justice and the Department of Health and Human Services.

"The federal government's character is to provide for the common defense but to promote the general welfare. By facilitating establishment of a charity switchboard, the Community Partnership Act avoids the problem inherent in providing and zeroes in on the crucial task of promoting."

*-Dr. Marvin Olasky
Center for Effective Compassion,
Progress and Freedom Foundation*

"The Community Partnership Act makes two important contributions: it implicitly recognizes the dramatic success of faith-based approaches -- especially when compared to purely secular programs -- in turning around the lives of individuals in crisis; and it actively encourages and promotes the work of churches, synagogues and communities of faith as they reach out to those most in need among them. Research has shown that for compassion to be truly effective, it needs to be personal, challenging and spiritual. The Community Partnership Act will help shift the emphasis from compassionate intentions to compassionate results and tangible changes in the lives of families in need."

*-Arianna Huffington
Center for Effective Compassion,
Progress and Freedom Foundation*



"Local, grassroots organizations infuse a community with its warmth, train its people to be good citizens, and make its neighborhoods seem smaller, more human and more manageable."

Community Empowerment

Politics in America tends to focus on the role of government and on the rights of individuals. But that focus is too narrow.

There is another important level of American life that lies between a distant government and isolated individuals: the community. When it is healthy, a community includes strong neighborhoods, successful businesses, vital churches, effective schools and active voluntary organizations. These institutions encourage cooperation, build trust and confront social problems before they become large enough for politics or the police. Local grassroots organizations infuse a community with its warmth, train its people to be good citizens, and make its neighborhoods seem smaller, more human and more manageable.

Peter Berger and Richard Neuhaus, in *To Empower People*, call these institutions "mediating structures" which are "the value-generating and value-maintaining agencies in society." "If they could be more imaginatively recognized in public policy," Berger and Neuhaus conclude, "individuals would be more 'at home' in society, and the political order would be more meaningful."

That recognition, however, goes against a powerful trend. Modern liberalism talks a great deal about individuals and their rights, but very little about communities and their standards. "The ruling American culture of liberal individualism," says John Grey of Oxford University, "treats communal attachments and civic engagement as optional extras on a fixed menu of individual choice and market exchange. This has generated extraordinary technological and economic vitality against a background of vast social dislocation [and] urban desolation."

The reason for this dislocation and desolation? Both individuals and the state are crippled without community. Government will never be strong enough to cope with social disorder in communities too weak to defend their own order and values. Individuals find it difficult to escape from disadvantage in cold, indifferent communities where they feel unsupported and alone.

The grassroots organizations of a healthy community are its immune system against cultural disease. Like families, the most basic "mediating structure", their absence predicts a variety of social breakdown. Robert Putnam of Harvard University argues, "Regardless of race, inner-city youth living in neighborhoods blessed with high levels of civic engagement are more likely to finish school, have a job, and avoid drugs and crime, controlling for the individual characteristics of the youth. That is, of two identical youths, the one unfortunate enough to live in a neighborhood whose [civic engagement] has eroded is more likely to end up hooked, booked, or dead."

A weak community eventually undermines economic vitality as well. Capitalism, it turns out, is not a creed for rugged individualists. It depends on "human capital" for its success-- individual habits and skills (cooperation, civility, perseverance, planning for the future) which are only cultivated in the context of community. "Human capital accumulation is a fundamentally social activity," comments economist Robert Lucas, "involving groups of people in a way that has no counterpart in the accumulation of physical capital." Robert Putnam's research strongly argues that economic success does not create strong communities. Strong communities create economic success.

How are the private institutions of a community encouraged? One of the prerequisites, clearly, is personal safety. There can be no community without order. Providing for the security of citizens is, after all, the paramount responsibility of government. "Civic engagement" is improbable when front porches attract random gunfire; when public meeting spaces become needle parks; when evening church services are cancelled because reaching them is too dangerous.

It is necessary to increase the number of police, prosecutors and prisons. The only effective deterrent to crime is the certainty of punishment for criminals, which has become progressively uncertain. In many cases, the best way to reduce the future cost of crime (in resources and lives) is to pay the current price for additional prisons.

There is, however, an agenda beyond criminal justice reform. The most direct way that community institutions are rebuilt is when their role is returned. Communities grow stronger when we depend on them, just as they grow weaker when we replace them. James Q. Wilson argues, "Today we expect

"Government should actively but not intrusively assist grassroots activists and organizations rebuilding the social and moral infrastructure of their neighborhoods. The goal is not just individual empowerment, but community empowerment."

'government programs' to accomplish what families, villages and churches once accomplished. This expectation leads to disappointment, if not frustration. Government programs, whether aimed at farmers, professors, or welfare mothers, tend to produce dependence, not self-reliance. If this is true, then our policy ought to be to identify, evaluate and encourage those local, private efforts that seem to do the best job at reducing drug abuse, inducing people to marry, persuading parents, especially fathers, to take responsibility for their children, and exercising informal social control over neighborhood streets."

This provides an important new focus for conservative public policy. Government should actively but not intrusively assist grassroots activists and organizations rebuilding the social and moral infrastructure of their neighborhoods. The goal is not just individual empowerment, but community empowerment. As a practical matter, this means supporting school choice (for public, private and religious schools) with its emphasis on parental involvement and moral instruction; community development corporations, encouraging assets and home ownership; and individuals who want to anchor their communities with small businesses. Berger and Neuhaus conclude, "The mediating structures under discussion here are the principal expressions of the real values and the real needs of people in society... Public policy should recognize, respect and wherever possible empower these institutions."

In this effort, conservatives will need to cultivate allies not normally associated with conservatism, particularly African-American pastors and community organizers who are the experts and examples of neighborhood regeneration. Such an alliance may take some attitude adjustment on both sides, but it holds a unique promise. Their cooperation could be the most unexpected, powerful, hopeful trend in American politics.

"The point of curbing government," says William Kristol, "is not simply to curb it for curbing's sake (though there is merit in that). The point is to enable the strengthening of civic institutions, the reinvigoration of institutions from the family up through voluntary and civic and religious institutions to communal institutions. We must curb government and strengthen civic institutions."

With this goal in mind, we have proposed several measures that would begin to shift the priorities of public policy:

THE EDUCATIONAL CHOICE AND EQUITY ACT -- Low-income children, often trapped in violent and ineffective schools, are currently denied the educational choices that many upper-middle class American families can afford. This measure would provide funding to 100 school districts to institute broad demonstrations in low-income school choice. Similar choice already is available to families who use government vouchers for infant day care and to students who use federal Pell Grants for college tuition. Children from kindergarten through high school deserve the same opportunities, in institutions that often emphasize parental involvement and character development.

THE RESTITUTION AND RESPONSIBILITY ACT -- Crime is not just a violation of the law, it is the violation of victims and communities, who deserve not only the imprisonment of offenders but restitution for their loss. This measure would provide competitive grants to states to establish effective programs to impose, collect and enforce payments of restitution to the victims of crime. Restitution holds criminals responsible for the damage they cause and tells victims that the broader community is interested in the suffering they endure.

THE ASSETS FOR INDEPENDENCE ACT -- Government programs too often penalize the elements of character that are the stepping stones to self-sufficiency and the foundation for successful communities: savings, ownership and entrepreneurship. This measure would reward individual savings by the poor for education, home ownership or starting a business. Community programs which match those savings with private contributions and local funds would be matched, in turn, by the federal government. These assets build responsibility, hope and independence.

THE URBAN HOMESTEAD ACT -- Though government promised to provide low-income housing, it has become the most irresponsible slumlord in the nation. This proposal would turn over all vacant and substandard housing stock owned by the federal government to local community development corporations on a two-year deadline. Housing that government has proven unable to manage should be returned to communities to be renovated by private and religious groups, creating new neighborhoods of homeowners.

THE MATERNITY SHELTER ACT -- As government restricts cash payments under AFDC, many women are still in need of support and shelter during crisis pregnancies. This proposal would encourage the creation of private and faith-based maternity group homes to provide refuge, parenting education and advice on adoption to pregnant women in need. Government entitlements have failed, but mothers in this difficult circumstance still require the help of a compassionate community.



The Educational Choice and Equity Act

Low-income families are often trapped in urban school systems where the quality of education is declining despite ever-increasing spending by the school districts. Public schools are now more stratified by race, income and ability than ever before, as wealthier families send their children to private schools or relocate to better school districts, while low-income families have no such alternatives.

For those who can afford them, private and religious schools, including those located in the inner-city, have remarkable results. Drawing from the same urban population as the public schools, these private schools regularly produce students with higher academic achievement at less than half the annual costs of the public school system. They have lower drop-out rates and higher college enrollment rates than the public schools and are more racially integrated. They also are free to encourage the character and moral beliefs of their students.

For too long, less affluent families have been denied alternatives to the public education system. The result is that some of America's neediest children have no recourse other than to attend academically poor inner-city schools which cannot even guarantee their safety. "The Educational Choice and Equity Act" will provide 100 low income school districts with the opportunity to experiment with choice.

This legislation would:

- Authorize three year demonstration grants for 100 school districts to provide school choice vouchers to parents, enabling them to send their child to the public or private school of their choice.
- Award grants on the basis of applications submitted by eligible school districts. Those districts which serve the highest percentage of low-income families will be eligible to receive

these grants of up to \$5 million each. Students who qualify for free or reduced price school lunches are eligible to participate in the program.

- Give parents vouchers in amounts determined by the district to provide the maximum educational choice for all participants. Parents may use the vouchers for the cost of tuition and transportation at the public or private school of their choice, but the amount of the voucher may not exceed the average per pupil expenditure in the public school system.

- Sixty percent of Americans questioned say that academic standards are too low in the public schools, and the figure is 70 percent among African-American parents with children in public schools.

- Urban high schools fail to graduate almost half their students, whereas 95 percent of Catholic high school students graduate and 83 percent of those go on to college.

- In Chicago, 46 percent of those who teach in the public schools send their own children to private schools. In Milwaukee, 62 percent do so. An estimated 80 percent of the public school teachers in Washington, D.C. do not send their own children to the District's public schools (including Franklin Smith, Superintendent of D.C. public schools).

- Private school costs on the average are only 50 to 60 percent of public schools, yet private school students exhibit a grade level higher performance than their counterparts in public schools.

A compelling example of the power of educational choice occurred in East Harlem, New York. Prior to an innovative public school choice program, students were scoring the lowest of any New York City school district. With the inception of a public school choice program, which gave teachers the ability to design and run the schools and parents the right to choose from among them, student reading scores jumped dramatically. Clearly, parents had no problem making good choices for their children's education.

"This legislation will put more quality educational choices within the reach of working class Pennsylvanians and other Americans who need them the most."

-- Tom Ridge, Governor of Pennsylvania



The Restitution and Responsibility Act

Crime not only violates the law, it violates victims and communities. Forcing criminals, to the extent possible, to repay their victim both restores a loss and enforces individual accountability.

Most states have statutes related to restitution, yet they vary widely in collection and enforcement. In many instances where restitution is ordered, there is no adequate follow-through to collect the full amount. States often lack the internal organization and cooperation among courts, corrections departments, prosecutors, and victim compensation centers to focus on the importance of restitution.

In addition, when offenders claim they are indigent, judges too often do not order restitution at all. Programs to ensure that indigent offenders face up to their responsibilities are needed. "The Restitution and Responsibility Act" provides resources to help states make restitution work, for individuals and for communities.

This legislation would:

- Provide competitive grants to states to develop and improve the ordering, collection and enforcement of restitution.
- Help states to:
 - 1) collect data on victim restitution
 - 2) create computer systems to track restitution payments
 - 3) improve the collection of restitution, including central billing and accounting
 - 4) enhance methods of enforcing restitution payments such as increasing the sanctions when an offender defaults or garnishing offender's wages
 - 5) train courts and corrections personnel in ordering, collecting, and enforcing restitution
- Requires GAO to conduct study analyzing the effectiveness of each restitution program established in any state

- In North Carolina, a study of offenders found that 46 percent of those who owed restitution had paid none after 3 and 1/2 years. Only 28 percent of felons paid all the restitution they owed, while 15 percent paid a portion. Only 30.8 percent of ordered restitution was collected. (North Carolina Sentencing and Policy Advisory Commission, June 1994)

- Alabama, a state with some of the most comprehensive statutes related to restitution, collects only 13 percent.

- California officials found that by increasing their effort to collect unpaid restitution, they could triple the amount collected.

- Restitution at the juvenile level has also been successful. Eighty-six percent of juveniles ordered to pay restitution paid the full amount or worked the full number of community service hours. (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention)

"I commend you for your effort to improve enforcement of restitution throughout our nation."

-- Anita Armstrong Drummond, Executive Director, Alabama Crime Victims Compensation Commission.

"Justice Fellowship strongly believes that one of the primary purposes of the criminal justice system ought to be to hold offenders accountable for taking specific actions to make their victims whole again... Your bill not only recognizes the need for victim restoration but also provides a practical incentive for improving state restitution practices... Justice Fellowship strongly endorses your bill and applauds your effort."

-- Steve J. Varnam, Executive Director, Justice Fellowship.

"Failure to enforce restitution orders reinforces the offenders' disregard for the Court's sentence and erodes the public's faith in the justice system. Victim satisfaction with the justice system is enhanced if the offender is ordered to pay restitution and the collection of the order is enforced. Your bill would create incentive for states to examine their current system and augment their efforts. "

-- Kelly Brodie, Deputy Director, Iowa Dept. of Justice, Crime Victim Assistance Division



The Assets for Independence Act

Congressional efforts at reforming the welfare system have focused on the elimination of federal bureaucracy and the devolution of authority and funds to the state bureaucracy. But devolution to the states almost certainly will not change one critical flaw with traditional welfare programs-- a focus on cash benefits instead of a focus on asset-building and saving. The current welfare system actually punishes the accumulation of assets by ending assistance when minimal asset levels are achieved.

Low-income individuals and families, whether working or on welfare, should be encouraged to develop savings and assets. While cash benefits create dependence, assets build family stability, give individuals a stake in the success of their community, and inspire independence. They encourage people not to live for the moment, but to plan for the future.

"The Assets for Independence Act" promotes savings to help rebuild communities, specifically for education, purchasing a home or founding a small business that will anchor a neighborhood.

This legislation would:

- Create a four-year, \$100 million demonstration program to establish 50,000 Individual Development Accounts (IDAs).
- These savings accounts, matched by public and private funds, would help welfare recipients and low-income families build family assets and become independent from government programs.
- Limit IDA investments to three purposes: purchase of a home, post-secondary education and the creation of small businesses.
- Match individual or family deposits (typically \$5 to \$20 a month) with funds provided by local churches, service organizations, corporations, foundations, and state or local governments. A federal "match" of this money would also be deposited in the account.
- Provide tax benefits to these accounts comparable to an Individual Retirement Account.
- Require that sponsoring organizations must cosign any withdrawal of funds, ensuring the money will be used for the purposes of the act.

- One-third of American households are asset-poor, meaning they have no or negligible assets. (Corporation for Enterprise Development)

- The Corporation for Enterprise Development estimates that \$100 million for Individual Development Accounts could generate over 7,000 new businesses, 68,000 new jobs, 12,000 new or rehabilitated homes, 6,600 families removed from the welfare rolls, 12,000 youth graduates from vocational and college programs, \$237 million in savings and matched contributions.

Eastside Community Investment, a community development corporation operating in East Indianapolis, has established 60 IDAs using funds from foundations. It provides a 9:1 match, so that participants can reach a home down payment and settlement expenses (approximately \$2000) based on a \$10 monthly contribution in about two years. This is a period short enough to maintain a strong incentive to save, but long enough to form strong habits, develop character, and avoid any notion that the match is a handout.

"The welfare state has reached a turning point. Income support does not move people out of poverty. Income and consumption must be counter-balanced with savings and investment. This is just common sense, but unfortunately, social policy has not been very sensible. As almost all Americans believe, it is time for major changes. Domestic policy should promote both work and savings. Asset building should be a new direction in the U.S. domestic policy. For this reason, I wholeheartedly support your innovative proposal, "Assets for Independence Act."

-- Michael Sherraden, Director, Center for Social Development, Washington University

"The Assets for Independence Act signals a shift from income maintenance policies which merely redistribute income and sustain consumption to investment policies which build wealth and economic opportunity -- for poor families and for the country as a whole. The Act would be a major step in converting the safety net into a ladder."

-- Robert E. Friedman, Chairman, Corporation for Enterprise Development



The Urban Homestead Act

There is, perhaps, no greater example of the failure of government to meet even the most basic human needs than public housing for the poor. Images of helpless tenants, huddling behind crumbling walls, living as victims of crime and indifference, have become commonplace in our public housing system. Many of these projects are wastelands of the human spirit.

Generic federal housing programs have missed the importance of homeownership and misunderstood the nature of poverty itself. The poor need more than temporary shelter. They need encouragement to become part of a community in which they have a stake.

What government has conspicuously failed to accomplish is being accomplished everyday by community development corporations. These grassroots groups understand that housing assistance means more than a roof over your head. It means training individuals to be responsible owners, not dependent renters. It means encouraging people to save and dream. This approach not only renovates housing but renews community.

"The Urban Homestead Act" is designed to provide Federal housing resources directly to community development corporations where they can be used to create neighborhoods of homeowners.

This legislation would:

- Require the Department of Housing and Urban Development to transfer ownership of all unoccupied single-family units of housing it owns to local governments over the course of two years.
- Require those local governments, in turn, to offer those properties for sale (on a cost recovery basis) to local community development corporations (CDCs) which provide housing opportunities for low-income families. CDCs will have the right

of first refusal on these properties for six-months following transfer of ownership to the local community.

- Require that HUD transfer ownership of any multi-family housing project that is unoccupied, or in which 25% of the units in any project are found to be substandard by the objective measures established by the bill. Those measures include: lack of hot or cold piped water, lack of working toilets, regular and prolonged breakdowns in heating, dangerous electrical problems, unsafe hallways and stairways, leaking roofs, windows or pipes, open holes in walls and ceilings, signs of rodent infestation.

- According to the National Congress for Community Economic Development, there are approximately 2,000 to 2,200 CDCs currently operating in America.

- Among CDCs, 60 percent are involved in producing housing for ownership, 58 percent in property management, 53 percent in home ownership counseling, 20 percent in administering revolving loan funds, 12 percent in originating mortgage loans for lenders.

- Sixty-three percent of CDCs report serving urban areas, 19 percent serve rural areas, 18 percent serve mixed urban/rural areas.

- CDCs have produced approximately 400,000 units of affordable housing.

"This Act formalizes a long understood fact that local community-based development organizations are in the best position to rehabilitate, preserve and manage housing for low and moderate income people. The sponsors of this bill should be applauded for creating another vehicle which focuses on the quality of life of the residents of these communities."

*-- Stephen Glaude, President and CEO
National Congress for Community
Economic Development*

"Voice of Hope," based in a poor, black area of West Dallas, has all the usual trappings of a government-run "community development" welfare program: Job training, a health clinic, home rehabilitation and construction, a thrift store, and clean-up campaigns.

But "Voice of Hope" emphasizes the Bible and parental involvement. Children who attend Bible classes also begin job training at the age of nine. Teenagers and their parents are offered classes to learn computer skills, music, math, bookkeeping, and art. In 11 years, the ministry has grown to a \$700,000 per-year endeavor that will change the lives of 140 families in West Dallas this year.

Those changes won't all be comfortable for their clients, says Mrs. Dudley, founder of "Voice of Hope". "The intensity of the way we work with our families is very high," she notes. "We work with a family for six months in our housing program, helping them to set up a budget, helping them to start a savings account. We help them overcome credit problems, write letters to creditors. We don't do it for them; we do it alongside them. The key is to build people, not just houses."

--World January 29, 1994



The Maternity Shelter Act

The current system of providing cash under AFDC to young mothers, often in their teens, has failed. It has undermined families and provided the economic lifeline for generations of welfare dependence. It was wrong from the beginning for government to provide checks to 15 year-old girls on the condition that they leave home and remain unmarried.

But as this destructive policy is reconsidered, many young, pregnant women are still in need, not of cash, but of direction, compassion and support. Ending AFDC could have the perverse effect of encouraging these women to have abortions, which would compound the tragedy, not solve it. Neither the status quo, nor a total cutoff, are good options. Creative ways must be found to give women in crisis pregnancies compassionate help in their own communities.

Private and religious maternity homes provide that help without destructive cash benefits. They are a supportive environment in which young women can receive counseling, housing, education, medical services, nutrition, and job and parenting training, giving them a real opportunity for growth and decision making. Whether a pregnant mother makes a decision to parent or to place the child up for adoption, she will receive important care, training, and life management skills to enable her to make effective choices.

"The Maternity Shelter Act" provides the seed money to encourage a network of maternity homes, providing women with an option beyond abortion and welfare.

This legislation would:

- Provide \$50 million in certificates which could be used by women at private and faith-based maternity group homes.
- Establish a maternity home demonstration program at the Department of Health and Human Services to improve and

expand the availability of comprehensive maternity care services for pregnant adolescents.

- Provide grants to private non-profit organizations to repair and rehabilitate existing buildings for use as maternity homes. Grants are limited to 100 per year, with a maximum grant amount of \$1 million.

- It is estimated that 500,000 unmarried teens become pregnant each year. Approximately 40 percent have abortions. About six percent choose adoption.

- In 1993, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reported that there were just under 296,000 unmarried teen mothers on welfare.

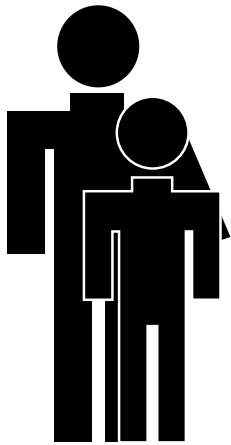
- The total of all out-of-wedlock births between 1970 and 1991 has risen from 10.7 percent to 29.5 percent and if the current trend continues, 50 percent of all births by the year 2015 will be out-of-wedlock.

- The rate of nonmarital teen pregnancy rose 23 percent from 54 pregnancies per 1,000 unmarried teenagers in 1976 to 66.7 pregnancies in 1991.

Maternity homes are proven success stories. The Florence Crittenton Homes and Services reports a high school completion rate of 92 percent for teen mothers in the program. At Amity Street in Lynn, Massachusetts, 95 percent of the residents have completed a job training program or have reached an educational goal (GED, college degree or high school diploma). Of those enrolled in high school, 90 percent graduate. At St. Ann's Infant and Maternity Home, mothers must stay in school and can elect to attend the fully accredited high school located on campus, or go to other local schools.

"The urgent need for maternity homes makes it imperative that this bill receive consideration. These homes not only provide help for pregnant teens, but, more important, set the stage for their children to receive better care."

-- National Council for Adoption



Fathering, Mentoring and Family

A young teaching assistant in a Midwestern city recently saw the sad, disturbing evidence of an American generation raised without fathers. A second-grader climbed into his lap and studied his face, touching his fingers against the teacher's five o'clock shadow. "What are those?" the boy said. The child was obviously astonished to see little stubs growing out of the teacher's cheek. "Do they hurt?" the boy asked. This child and many of his classmates had never been close enough to an adult male to see him shave in the morning.

This is the commonplace crisis of American society. Today 38 percent of all children now live without their biological fathers, up from 17.5 percent in 1960. That statistic is the result of two trends affecting every class and race: out-of-wedlock births have increased by 400 percent in three decades, while the divorce rate has jumped by over 250 percent.

Our society, in the process, has crossed into unexplored territory. "The fatherless family of the U.S. in the late 20th century," observes David Blankenhorn, "is a social invention of the most daring and untested design. It represents a radical departure from virtually all of human history and experience."

The evidence mounts that this new territory is violent, pitiless and hopeless. When young boys are deprived of a model of responsible male behavior, they become prone to violence and sexual aggression. When young girls are placed in the same circumstance, they are more likely to have illegitimate children of their own. The result, as a recent article concluded, is "boys with guns and girls with babies."

There is overwhelming empirical evidence which links broken homes with social pathologies. Seventy percent of prison inmates were raised in single-parent households. Children raised in single-parent families are twice as likely to wind up in jail, and the number of single-parent families in a neighborhood is closely associated with that community's violent crime rate. Nearly three-fourths of children from single-parent families will live in poverty, compared to only 20 percent of children from two-parent families. Children from fatherless households also are more likely to abuse drugs, suffer physical and sexual abuse, and do poorly in school.

The effect is concentrated when not only individuals but entire communities lack fathers. A responsible, adult male in a neighborhood is often an example and source of discipline for children who aren't his own. Yet some neighborhoods and public housing projects are almost completely devoid of males who are more than visitors. Without the restraining influence of fathers and male role-models, these communities often become "juvenilocracies," in which power is exercised by immature, violent adolescents. Charles Ballard of the Institute for Responsible Fatherhood tells of meeting young adults in these areas who have attended several funerals of their friends, but not one wedding.

Liberal ideology dictates that our society should be neutral to these trends. A preference for intact families is dismissed as nostalgia, or even oppression. In reality, it is a particularly practical form of compassion. The "liberation" of adults from traditional family commitments is the most direct cause of suffering for children-- more than hunger, lead paint or failed schools. The abandonment of children, particularly by fathers, is not simply a "lifestyle choice," it is a form of adult behavior with profoundly destructive results for children and for society.

Of all the institutions that comprise civil society, the institution of the family is the most essential and the most endangered. Here we need to be specific: The most serious problem is absent, irresponsible fathers. It should not be controversial, though it often is, to say that fathers are not expendable and families are not optional.

Private organizations, such as Promise Keepers, are bringing that message to a broad audience, reminding fathers of the moral duties of paternity. Its extraordinary growth is a hopeful sign, and evidence that many Americans sense we have arrived at a moment of crisis. Charles Ballard has pioneered programs urging biological parents to become real fathers, a process William Raspberry calls "the miracle cloning business." Ninety-seven percent of participants begin supporting their children financially; 71 percent have no more children outside of marriage; an additional 50 percent find full-time jobs to help support their kids.

Efforts like these show that broken trust and attachments within families can be restored. Government offers no comparable hope. It relies on these relationships, but it does not-- it cannot-- create them. "The

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"Of all the institutions that comprise civil society, the institution of the family is the most essential and the most endangered."

success of the public safety net," writes social critic Richard Neely, "depends on the success of the private safety net, and the private safety net is the family."

Public policy, however, can choose either to respect the role of fathers and mentors, or to adopt an official neutrality that translates into the suffering of children. Taking the first approach requires a serious reordering of government priorities, in at least two ways:

First, we should communicate a clear, public preference for marriage and family on matters such as public housing, the tax code, family planning and divorce law. Rewarding intact families is not, as some argue, a form of discrimination; it is a form of self-preservation.

Second, in the absence of fathers and families, children need more than funding and programs, they need mentors and examples. Precisely because we have a crisis in fatherhood, we need to be creative in providing children with models of responsible male behavior.

With these goals in mind, "The Project for American Renewal" includes several pieces of legislation:

THE FAMILY HOUSING ACT -- One of the most pressing problems in public housing is the absence of stable families and male role models. This measure would set aside 15 percent of public housing units for intact families. Government should be committed to ensuring that children -- especially adolescent boys -- have the restraining influence and example of adult males in their community.

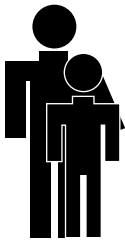
THE RESPONSIBLE PARENTHOOD ACT -- Most experts in teen pregnancy agree that abstinence should be the first priority of public policy, but the federal government's spending priorities place abstinence last. This proposal would require that every dollar spent by the federal government on family planning be matched by a dollar spent on abstinence education. It should be the government's unequivocal message that delaying sexual activity is an essential part of responsible parenting.

THE CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT ACT -- One of the best predictors of individual success is the presence of role models who prove to young men and women that success is possible. This proposal links public schools with mentoring organizations to give more children one-on-one inspiration. This type of program is especially important for children whose parents do not play that role.

THE FAMILY RECONCILIATION ACT -- Divorce is sometimes unavoidable, but it is almost always tragic for young children, who suffer profound economic and emotional consequences. This legislation would provide incentives through family preservation funding for states to adopt divorce law reform. Reforms would encourage a braking mechanism for divorces involving young children, including a waiting period and required counseling. Government has a vital interest in sending a message that marriage is serious and binding, particularly when children are involved.

THE MENTOR SCHOOLS ACT AND THE ROLE MODELS ACADEMY ACT -- The lack of strong, male role models in the lives of boys often stunts their emotional and moral growth, with violent consequences for them and for society. "The Mentor Schools Act" clarifies that single-sex academies, or mentor schools, are a legal educational alternative for public schools. In addition, "The Role Models Academy Act" would create a model residential academy along similar lines. While government cannot provide a father for every child, it should help encourage mentors, role models and mentoring agencies which exemplify responsible male behavior.

THE KINSHIP CARE ACT -- When a child is in need of foster care, often the best option is to find a relative willing to provide a home. This measure encourages states to seek adult relatives of children in need of foster care placement as the first preference. Government policies should seek to respect and encourage family ties, not replace them.



The Family Housing Act

The collapse of the traditional family has had a dramatic, destructive influence on children. Children in single-parent households, most of whom lack a father, are more vulnerable to sexual abuse, poverty, violence, low educational achievement, crime, drug abuse, and suicide.

But when whole communities lack stable families, the destruction is even more concentrated.

A father in a neighborhood is an example and source of restraint, not only for his own children, but for other children without a model of male behavior. It is an important goal of public policy, in areas where the federal government has a role, to ensure that communities are “integrated” with intact families. Too many children grow up, not only lacking a father, but never knowing anyone who has a father.

The Family Housing Act is designed to reintroduce families into public housing, where government rules have put them at a disadvantage. The presence of these families would create a new environment, in which children would have a model of marriage.

This legislation would:

- Set-aside 15 percent of public housing units for families headed by two individuals who are legally married.
- Avoid the displacement of current residents by meeting the 15 percent goal through a preference as vacancies gradually open.
- Ensure that increased family earnings do not force intact families from public housing by dramatically increasing rents.

- The current environment in public housing is in need of transformation. Forty-two percent of public housing residents in one survey said they had heard gunfire nearby. Nearly half of residents say their neighborhoods are troubled by drug trafficking.

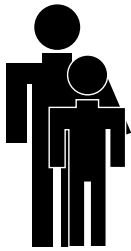
- Public housing residents are three times more likely to be victims of violent crime than the average of households nationwide.

“Permitting married couples in public housing will constitute an important test case for a larger idea: the fatherhood idea. Perhaps married fathers can do what mothers, the police, social workers and public housing officials are all too often unable to do: turn public housing developments into reasonably safe and hospitable environments for raising children.”

— David Blankenhorn, President of the Institute for American Values and author of *Fatherless America*.

A recent article in the Chicago Tribune (June 20, 1995), made the point that placing families in public housing is not radical reform. It is a return to the history of public housing:

“The first public housing developments were intended for the ‘deserving poor,’ people temporarily out of work or those whose limited income would not allow them to pay the rent private landlords demanded. Single mothers on welfare were not admitted. Families on public aid were. The mix of welfare families and the working poor provided a measure of social and fiscal stability. Working families served as role models for those striving to achieve economic independence, according to housing analyst Mary Nenno.”



The Responsible Parenthood Act

Since the early 1970s the federal government has spent \$3.3 billion on the family planning program known as Title X. This funding has failed to purchase responsible parenthood: out-of-wedlock births have risen by 400 percent over the last three decades in spite of substantial increases in Title X funding.

Title X clinics do not stress sexual abstinence outside of marriage, or prenatal and maternal health care that help reduce rates of illness and mortality. This is despite the fact that contraceptive-based programs for teens are under scrutiny for promoting sexual activity and resulting in increased pregnancies, while abstinence-centered programs have been found to effectively reduce teen pregnancies.

The United States is in an era of greatly restricted resources and greatly heightened concerns about rampant out-of-wedlock births, especially among adolescents. The Responsible Parenthood Act is needed to shift existing federal funding to programs that stress abstinence until marriage, provide prenatal, maternal and child health care, and encourage adoption for unwanted pregnancies.

This legislation would:

- Require that every federal dollar spent on family planning be matched by another dollar spent on abstinence education and adoption services.
- Shift existing funding from Title X of the Public Health Service Act to the Maternal and Child Health (MCH) Block Grant—Title V of the Social Security Act.
- Increase funding for the MCH Block Grant by \$200 million, from \$686 million to \$886 million (current funding for Title X is \$193 million).
- Prevent states from using MCH Block Grant funding to pay for, encourage or promote abortion, except to protect the life of the mother. States also would be restricted from using subsidies from the MCH Block Grant to provide family planning services in elementary or secondary schools.

- Out-of-wedlock teen births and abortions have increased concurrently with increases in Title X funding. Nonmarital teen births and abortions have decreased or leveled off when Title X funding has decreased. (National Center for Health Statistics, Centers for Disease Control)

- Abstinence-based curriculum written by Emory University found that teens who participated in the program were five times less likely to become sexually active than those not involved in the program. (Family Research Council)

- San Marcos Junior High School in San Marcos, California, adopted an abstinence-only curriculum developed by Teen-Aid, Inc., entitled “Sexuality, Commitment, and Family.” The year before the curriculum was implemented, 147 girls became pregnant. Two years after the program’s adoption, only 20 girls became pregnant. (Family Research Council)

"The Responsible Parenthood Act will return authority to state governments, as well as parents, in areas that are vital to society's efforts to strengthen families and reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies. This important legislation redirects our limited resources towards services that actually work and does so in a manner that respects the rights of taxpaying parents - a group that has been ignored for far too long."

-- Family Research Council

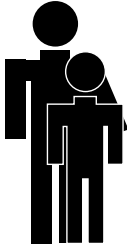
"Abstinence-centered programs are the best preventive medicine for the problems of illegitimacy, sexually-transmitted disease and emotional trauma among our youth. This legislation is an important step in that direction."

*-- Kathleen Sullivan, Director,
Project Reality*

Seventeen year old Tiffany Scurlock of Washington, D.C. has been teased by some of her peers for not having sex, doing drugs or drinking alcohol. But Miss Scurlock can reply by pointing out that she has been voted Senior Class President and is applying for college—rare achievements in her inner-city neighborhood.

Miss Scurlock is a product of “Best Friends,” an abstinence-based program that provides young teenagers with older female role models. “There’s always someone you can talk to,” said Vashti Jefferson, another “Best Friends” graduate who is leaving inner-city Washington for college.

Of the 440 longtime participants in “Best Friends,” only two have become pregnant. Without the support group, more than 112 of these girls would likely have become pregnant, according to founder Elayne Bennett. ([Washington Times](#), June 6, 1995)



The Character Development Act

Moral responsibility and character are the keys to both individual success and social order. There are a number of organizations dedicated to filling, at least in part, the gap left by absent fathers in teaching these values. The work of mentoring groups is among the most important in the process of cultural renewal.

These institutions, such as Big Brothers/ Big Sisters and 100 Black Men, often have extraordinary success in reclaiming young lives. It is the purpose of "The Character Development Act" to link them with local schools in innovative programs. It is essential to find creative ways to reinforce the character of children.

This legislation would:

- Give school districts three-year demonstration grants when they agree to work with community groups to develop mentoring programs. These programs would be designed to link individual at-risk children with responsible, caring adults.

- Give priority to low-income school districts, who could use these mentoring programs to reduce juvenile delinquency and the drop out rate.
- Provide \$5 million in research grants to further study, develop, and implement one-on-one mentoring programs for at-risk children.

"Big Brothers/Big Sisters is proud to endorse the mentoring initiative which you will be introducing as the Character Development Act. There is enormous potential for school-based mentoring, and this legislation will greatly enhance the opportunities for implementing effective programs throughout the country which will help thousands of children and youth develop into responsible and caring adults."

— Thomas M. McKenna, National
Executive Director, Big Brothers/Big Sisters
of America

"Consider the case of the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program. In 1995, Big Brothers/Big Sisters operated all across the country and maintained 75,000 active matches between adult volunteers and children. On average, the adult-youth pairs met for three to four hours three times a month for at least a year in what is the oldest, best-known and, arguably, most sophisticated mentoring program in America.

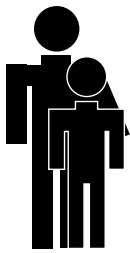
Well, what difference does it make? Public/Private Ventures, a policy research organization in Philadelphia, decided to find out. Their study examined 959 10-to 16-year-olds who applied to Big Brothers/Big Sisters programs in 1992 and 1993. Over 60 percent of the sample youth were boys; more than half were minorities, mainly black. Almost all lived with a single parent (the mother, in most cases). Over 80 percent came from poor households, 40 percent from homes with a history of substance abuse and nearly 30 percent from homes with a history of serious domestic violence. Half these youth were randomly assigned to a group, for which Big Brother matches were made or attempted. The other half were assigned to Big Brother waiting lists.

The results were startling. The addition of a Big Brother or Big Sister to a youngster's life for one year cut first-time drug use by 46 percent, lowered school absenteeism by 52 percent and reduced violent behavior by 33 percent. Participants in the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program were significantly less likely to start using alcohol; less likely to assault someone; more likely to do well in school; and much more likely to relate well to friends and family. The effects held across races for both boys and girls. "

- The Study Connection Program, a mentoring program in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, has been having impressive results. One thousand students from the Ft. Wayne Community Schools are now participating in this program, which pairs each child with a volunteer mentor, who meets with the student one night a week at the volunteer's place of employment. Results from the 1993-94 school year show student participants with greater academic achievement, improved self-esteem, better behavior, and increased attendance.

- The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation recently conducted a study of school-based mentoring programs. This study found that mentoring measurably enhances the odds that children will succeed in school. The study focused on the impact of mentors on students' academic performance during the course of the 1992-93 school year, and found that the mean grades of the children involved increased in all subjects. Teacher comments further indicated a strong sense of improvement in student attendance, attentiveness, and overall performance.

— The New Republic
December 25, 1995



The Family Reconciliation Act

Divorce is a complex subject, and the reasons for its rise are varied. But we gain nothing by refusing to confront its consequences. The Council on Families recently concluded, "In the domain of marriage and family life, our recent explosions of freedom have taken a terrible and largely unexpected toll. Many women are experiencing chronic economic insecurity. Many men are isolated and estranged from their children. Many more people are lonely."

The effect on children is especially disturbing. Compared to those in intact families, children whose parents have divorced are much more likely to drop out of school, to engage in premarital sex, and to become pregnant themselves outside of marriage. The decline of family and its human cost is communicated through generations.

Divorce is not always avoidable, but should not always be casual, easy and immediate, particularly when children are involved. The law should reflect the weight and seriousness of the marriage contract. At the very least, government should not use public funds to pay for divorces.

"The Family Reconciliation Act" encourages states to adopt braking mechanisms— a waiting period and required counseling— in divorces that involve children under 12. It also ends the funding of divorce through the Legal Services Corporation.

This legislation would:

- Provide additional federal funding to states, under the Family Preservation and Social Services Act, to implement a waiting period and pre-divorce counseling in cases where chil-

dren under 12 are involved. That waiting period must be at least 60 days.

- Prevent the federal government from directly funding divorce through the Legal Services Corporation, except in cases of abuse.

"The Family Reconciliation Act will encourage a braking mechanism for divorces involving children, including a waiting period and mandatory counseling. This proposal sends a message to couples wishing to divorce: Severing of the marital relationship should not be done lightly or quickly because it has tragic consequences for all involved, particularly the children."

— Patrick Fagen, *The Heritage Foundation*

"More than half of all new marriages are failing. That means millions of existing marriages are headed toward divorce courts right now. Separation is the first step many couples take. In fact, only a few states, such as Maryland, require a year's separation before the filed divorce papers can be made final. Why? Because it is in the interest of the state, as well as that of the couple, to encourage reconciliation.

What is the result? Maryland boasts the fourth lowest divorce rate in the United States, 26% below the national average . .

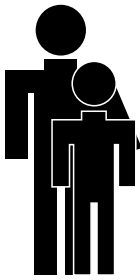
As Maryland's example suggests, there is far more marital reconciliation than most people realize. 'Approximately five million couples, or 10% of all currently married couples in the United States have experienced a separation and reconciliation in their marriage,' reported Howard Weinberg in the *Journal of Marriage and Family* (Feb. 1994). And he writes that a third of women attempting a reconciliation are successful."

- The annual divorce rate has tripled in the last thirty years, from 393,000 in 1960 to 1.2 million divorces in 1992. (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, September 23, 1993)

- The average income of women with children declines 73 percent after divorce, while 50 percent of all new welfare recipients are recently divorced women and their children. (Don Feder, *Washington Times*, January 19, 1992)

- A recent poll found that 58 percent of Americans believe it should be harder for couples with children to get a divorce. (*U.S. News and World Report*, February 27, 1995)

- The Legal Services Corporation provided assistance in 251,000 divorce cases in 1994.



The Mentor Schools Act and The Role Models Academy Act

There is no substitute for fathers. But in their absence, it is important to find creative ways to provide children with models of responsible male behavior. Particularly in public schools, those examples are often absent. Only 1.2 percent of all teachers in the United States, for example, are African-American males. Educator Spencer Holland observes, “Black boys don’t see credible male authority figures in the home, street or school [who can] show them it’s okay to be smart, that it is okay to sing songs.”

Male adults, in many communities, have increasingly become visitors in the lives of children, not sources of inspiration and discipline. One promising way to deal with this problem is through all-male education, coupled with all-female education. Both boys and girls can benefit from a single-sex education, in which distractions are minimized. But young, fatherless men in particular are in need of male role models they cannot find at home. In these cases, one study has found “availability of the mentor” to be the single most important predictor of individual success.

Educators report that all-male classes have already produced some remarkable results encouraging teamwork and accomplishment. “The Mentor Schools Act” promotes the ideas of single-sex education to provide a hopeful alternative for interested families and their children.

This legislation would:

- Establish that “same gender” schools are a legal educational alternative and are not prohibited by Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 as long as comparable educational opportunities are available to students of the other sex.

- Establish, in “The Role Models Academy Act,” an innovative residential academy for at-risk youth, combining high academic standards and job training with a focus on personal responsibility and discipline. Retired military personnel will serve as teachers, while community members will serve as mentors in one-on-one relationships with students.

- “Same gender” schools currently comprise only 1.2 percent of all American schools.

- Males at single-gender schools are more likely than their peers at co-ed institutions to get good grades, participate in honors programs, graduate with honors and pursue a career in business, law or college teaching.

- Women at single-sex schools are more likely than their peers at co-ed institutions to pursue majors such as science, math, management and economics. They have more opportunities for leadership and aspire to higher academic degrees.

The Robert W. Coleman Elementary School in inner-city Baltimore is a prime example of the remarkable benefits of “same gender” education. In the late 1980s, 85 percent of Coleman’s students lived in single-parent homes, contributing to the school’s low test scores. In 1990, Principal Hattie Johnson learned of the dynamic effects of “same gender” education and decided to implement this learning strategy at Coleman. By 1993, all classes except music and meals were separated by gender. Coleman went from being one of Baltimore’s worst schools to having students rank among the top five in the city in several test categories.

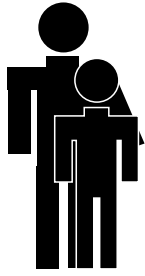
“Like Hillary Rodham Clinton and many other women of my generation, I had the advantage of a single-sex education. Today, few young Americans have the same opportunity. A significant body of research suggests that single-sex schooling—because of its supportive environment, its focus on academics, and its lack of distractions—might help improve the life chances and educational achievement of young people, especially those who are disadvantaged.”

“I applaud this effort to encourage the provision of single-sex schools, consistent with federal law, for those youngsters who choose such a setting.”

— Diane Ravitch, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

“The Role Models Academy Act addresses the increasing need to provide the nation’s at-risk dropouts with a ‘second chance.’ The magnet school model with discipline and respect incorporates a comprehensive high school diploma and a mandatory vocational skill and combines the principles of moral values, citizenship, life skills and a work ethic.”

— Jack Kemp, Co-Director of Empower America



The Kinship Care Act

Each year, scores of abused, neglected and abandoned children are herded into the world of child protection to be cared for by strangers. For many of these children, foster care will be a refuge, for others, a nightmare. Being separated from a parent is never easy, but we can make the transition smoother by looking to relatives when a child must be removed from his or her home.

Kinship care is a time honored tradition in most cultures. Care of children by kin is strongly tied to family preservation. These relationships may stabilize family situations, ensure the protection of children, and prevent the need to separate children from their homes by placing them in a formal foster care arrangement within the child welfare system.

Yet, rather than encourage relative or "kinship care," some states have made it increasingly difficult for relatives to provide care for their own. Immense financial, emotional and regulatory challenges often frustrate willing kinship caregivers. "The Kinship Care Act" will ensure that grandparents and other adult relatives will be first in line to care for children who would otherwise be forced into foster care or adoption.

The Kinship Care proposal will strengthen the ability of families to rely on their own family members as resources. It will also help soften the trauma that occurs when children are separated from their parents. Living with relatives that they know and trust will give these children more immediate stability during this painful transition.

This legislation would:

- Create a \$30 million demonstration program for states using adult relatives as the preferred placement option for children separated from their parents.
- Require that kinship providers meet all relevant state child protection standards and are capable of providing a safe, nurturing environment for the child.
- Provide a hopeful alternative to traditional foster care.

"Children traumatized by insecure and often violent homes should be placed with a relative who is willing to offer love, nurturing and stability to wounded children. Placement with a relative preserves family ties and provides stability not found in foster care. Relative placements maintain family ties and usually saves a child from dealing with caregivers who are strangers to them. Helping these relatives will stabilize families and save future expenditures."

*-- Rosalie Cauley, Director,
Grandparents as Parents*

- By the end of 1992, 442,000 children were in foster care, up from 276,000 in 1985, at a federal cost in fiscal 1993 of \$2.6 billion. The population of children in foster care is expected to exceed 500,000 by 1996.

- The National Foster Parent Association reports that between 1985 and 1990, the number of foster families declined by 27 percent while the number of children in out-of-home care increased by 47 percent.

- Children placed for foster care with relatives grew from 18 percent to 31 percent of the foster care caseload from 1986 through 1990 in 25 states that supplied information to the Department of Health and Human Services.

- Children in kinship care are less likely to experience multiple placements than their counterparts in family foster care. Of the children who entered California's foster care system in 1988, for example, only about 23 percent of those placed initially with kin experienced another placement, while 58 percent of children living with unrelated foster families experienced at least one subsequent placement during the following 3.5 years.

"Fourteen-month-old Jennifer Williams has only lived with her mother, a drug addict, for one year of her life. When the state removed Jennifer from her mother's custody two months ago because she had been repeatedly left unsupervised, Jennifer's 40-year-old grandmother Emma stepped forward and asked the State Child Protective Services to place the baby with her. The state did so. However, because the state system does not allow Emma to receive foster care benefits for Jennifer because she is a relative, Emma cannot afford to raise Jennifer. Emma must now ask the state to put Jennifer in a foster home outside of her extended family. "Kinship care," a new alternative for foster care placement which provides foster care benefits to a relative caring for a child, would address Jennifer's situation and enable her to be placed with her extended family."

-- Elizabeth Killackey, Family Law Quarterly, Fall 1992

